

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----201825Z 118300 /43

P 201619Z JAN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8669

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 0476

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FOR ACTING SECRETARY AND ASST SECRETARY HARTMAN ONLY

E.O.11652: X-GDS 1

REF: MADRID 453

1. IRVING BROWN HAD ASKED THAT IN REPORTING TO YOU THE RESULTS OF HIS MORE SENSITIVE CONVERSATIONS, IT BE DONE IN A FASHION THAT WOULD ENSURE VERY LIMITED CIRUCLATION. IN VIEW OF THE VAGARIES OF THE POUCH AND THE FACT THAT HIS NEXT MEETINGS WITH THE SPANIARDS (JANUARY 25 AND TENTIVELY JANUARY 31) ARE FAST APPROACHING, WE HAVE SUMMED THME UP BELOW.

2. IN ADDITION TO IRVING BROWN'S NUMEROUS MEETINGS WITH SPANISH TRADE UNION LEADERS REPORTED IN REFTEL, HE ALSO MET WITH A) THE DUKE OF ARION (SOMETIM CONFIDANT OF THE KING), B) SYNDICAL RELATIONS MINISTER DE LA MATA, AND C) FIRST VICE PRESIDENT LTGEN GUTIERREZ MELLADO. THE DUKE OF ARION HAS TO A CERTAIN EXTENT BEEN USED BY THE KING (WHO HAS AN INTEREST IN LABOR MATTERS AND, YOU WILL RECALL, MET WITH GEORGE MEANY DURING HIS VISIT LAST SUMMER) AS A POINT OF CONTACT WITH THE AMERICAN LABOR

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MOVEMENT. WITH BROWN'S AGREEMENT, I ARRANGED THE MEETING WITH DE LA MATA WHO HAD EARLIER EXPRESSED TO ME HIS ADMIRATION FOR AMERICAN (ECONOMIC) TRADE UNIONISM AS AGAINST "OUTDATED" EURPOEAN POLITICAL TRADE UNIONISM AND HAD VOICED HIS DESIRE TO MEET WITH AN AFL-CIO LEADER AT THE EARLIEST OPORTUNITY. ALTHOUGH BOTH DE LA MATA AND ARION WERE AWARE BROWN'S INTEREST IN MEETING WITH GUTIERREZ

MELLADO, I ASSUME IT WAS ARION WHO THROUGH THE KING ARRANGED THE LAST MINUTE LUNCHEON MEETING WITH THE VICE PRESIDENT BEFORE BROWN'S DEPARTURE FOR PARIS JANUARY13.

3. BEFORE THESE MEETINGS NICOLAS REDONDO (SECGEN OF THE SOCIALIST UGT, THE LARGEST NON COMMUNIST TRADE UNION HERE) HAD STRESSED TO BRWON THAT THE NEXT FEW MONTHS WOULD BE CRITICAL IF THE UGT WERE TO UNDERTAKE THE ORGANIZATION ACTIVITES NECESSARY TO MEET THE CHALLENGE OF THE COMMUNIST DOMINATED SPANISH WORKERS COMMISSIONS (SWC). THE UGT HAD PREAPRED WHAT REDONDO TERMED A "CUT TO THE BONE BUDGET" WHICH NOETHELESS CAME TO US \$1.76 MILLION OF WHICH THEY COULD HOPEFULLY RAISE ONE THIRD THE ICFTU HAD JUST RAISED ITS \$88.000 ANNUAL CONTRIBUTION TO A STILL MODEST \$100.000 AND BILATERAL ASSIATANCE FROM NATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATIONS (MAINLY THE SCANDINAVIANS) WAS SPORADIC. THE UGT WAS STILL WAITING FOR THE SUBSTANTIAL HELP EXPECTED FROM THE WEST GERMAN DGB FOLLOWING THEIR OCTOBER 1976 VISIT WHAT IT BOILED DOWN TO, THEREFORE WAS A SHORTFALL OF ABOUT US \$1 MILLION. WHAT THE UGT HOPED FOR WAS SOME ARRANGEMENT WHEREBY THE UNION COULD BE EXTENED CREDIT OF A FINANCIAL INSTITUTION AGAIST THE CONSIDERABLE SUM OF MONEY DUE THE UGT IN WASY OF COMPENSATION FOR UGT PROPERTIES AND ASSETS CON- FISCATED BY THE GOVT AFTER THE CIVIL WAR.

4. BROWF THRUST TO ARION, DE LA MATA. AND GUTIERRES MELLADO FOLLOWED ROUGHLY SIMILAR LINES: A) WITH SPANISH DEMOCRATIZATION IN FULL SWING, THE GIVT NEEDED FREE TRADE UNIONS AND THE FREE TRADE UNIONS NEEDED TO HAVE THE UNDER CONFIDENTIAL

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STANDING OF THE GOVT: B) THE SECURITY THREATS POSED SHOULD THE SWC GAIN THE UPPER HAND IN THE TRADE UNION FIELD WERE OBVIOUS: AND C) THE FREE TRADE UNION'S (IN PARTICULAR THE UGT, BUT ALSO THE REGIONAL BASQUE AND CATALAN LABOR MOVEMENTS) FINANCIAL NEED WAS URGENT- A PROBLEM FOR TODAY, NOT TOMMORROW. BROWN MADE IT A POINT TO EXPLAIN CLEARLY THAT ANY ASSISTANCE THAT AFL-CIO OR ITS MEMBER UNIONS MIGHT COME UP WITH WOULD ONLY BE A DROP IN THE BUCKET AND WOULD BE CONCENTRATED IN THE LABOR EDUCATION FIEDL.

5. THE REACTION OF ALL THREE WAS POSITIVE. ARION TOLD BROWN HE WOULD LIKE TO ARRANGE A MEETING WITH THE KING WHEN BROWN NEXT CAME TO TOWN, AND THEN APPARENTLY WENT AHEAD TO SET UP THE MEDTING WITH THE VICE PRESIDENT. DE LA MATA, WHO HAS THE MAJOR RESPONSIBILITY FOR PUSHING THE GOVT'S LIBERAL LABOR REFORM BILL (WHICH WILL LEGALIZE THE OPPOSITION TRADE UNIONS. THROUGH THE CORTES, INDCATED THAT HE WAS QUITE WILLING TO TALK THINGS OVER WITH THE UGT. AS IT TURNED OUT, HIS DEPUTY (SPANISH SYNDICAL ORGANIZATION

SSO SECGEN MELITINO GARCIA) MET WITH REDONDO AND OTHER UGT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS THE VERY NEXT DAY (JANUARY 14). IN A MEETING DESCRIBED TO THE LABOR ATTACHE BY BOTH SIDES AS VERY USEFUL. DE LA MATA TOLD US ON JANUARY 17 THAT HE HAD BEEN MUCH IMPRESSED BY BROWN, AND HOPED TO SEE HIM AGAIN IN GENEVA AFTER DE LA MATA'S JANUARY 25 CALL ON IOL SECGEN BLANCHARD. THE BROWN DE LA MATA MEETING WAS CONFIRMED ON JANUARY 19.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----201910Z 118623 /43  
P 201619Z JAN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8670

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6. BROWN MET ALONE WITH GUTIERREZ MELLADO FOR AN HOUR AND A QUARTER. THE VIC PR DENTTTORDERS FROM ON HIG" (PRESUMABLY", T HE KING) TO SEE BROWN AND HAD ALSO BEEN FILLED IN BY DE LA MATA ON THE LATTER'S MEETING WITH BROWN. THE VICE PRESIDENT PRESSED HIM FOR HIS EVALUATION OF REDONDO (SUGGESTING THAT THE UGT LEADER WAS PLAYING GAMES WITH THE COMMUNISTS). BROWN TOLD HIM THAT REDONDO IMPRESSED HIM AS A SINCRE AND RESPONSIBLE TRADE UNIONIST WHO WAS TRYING TO STRENGTHEN HIS UNION SO THAT IT COULD STAND UP AGAIST THE SWC. HE ALSO REPEATED REDONDO'S EARLIER STATEMENT TO HIM THAT WITH THE LEGALIZATION OF THE OPPOSITION TRADE UNIONS, THE UGT SAW LITTLE NEED FOR THE COS (COORDINADORA DE ORGANIZACIONES SINDICALES THE NATIONAL "UNITY OF ACTION" MECHANISM GROUPING THE

COMMUNIST DOMINATED SWC, SOICLAIST UGT AND CHRISTIAN SOCIALISY  
USP, AND INTENDED GRADUALLY TO WITHDRAW. AT THE VICE  
PRESIDENT'S REQUEST BROWN ALSO PROVIDED HIM WITH THE NAMES  
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OF TWO REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BASQUE AND CATALAN LABOR  
ORGANIZATIONS.

7. BROWN SAID THAT GUTIERREZ MELLADO HAD RAISED HIS EYEBROWS WHEN HE HEARD THE FIGURE OF THE \$1 MILLION UGT BUDGET SHORTFALL. AS A GOOD COLLECTIVE BARGAINER, BROWN TOLD US THAT HE HAD HASTILY SUGGESTED THAT THE UGT MIGHT BE HAPPY WITH HALF THAT AMOUNT. IN ANY EVENT, THE VICE PRESIDENT WAS FAMILIAR WITH THE SSO PATRIMONY PROBLEM SAID HE WOULD THINK IT OVER, AND SUGGESTED THAT HE, BROWN, AND DE LA MATA DINE TOGETHER WHEN BROWN RETURNED TO MADRID. WHEN BROWN EXPRESSING HIS APPRECIATION FOR VICE PRESIDENT INTEREST IN LABOR AFFAIRS- MEMNTIONED GUTIERREZ MELLADO'S REPUTATION AS A LIBERAL MILITART LEADER, THE SPANISRD CAUTIONED THAT HE AND HIS LIBERAL COLLEAGUES WERE "STILL A MINORITY IN THE ARMY" THE ENTIRE CONVERSATION, SAID BROWN, HAD BEEN WARM AND FRANK. GUTIEREZ MELLADO HAS ALSO EXPRESSED TO ME HIS SATISFACTION WITH HIS"MOST INTERESTING MEETING WITH BROWN.

8. THE INCREASED TEMPO OF AFL-CIO VISITS HAS BEEN EXTREMELY USEFUL AND IRVING BROWN'S TRIP TURNED OUT TO BE PARTICULARLY TIMELY. BOTH THE GOVERNMENT AND THE UGT HAVE LET BROWN KNOWN THAT THEY WOULD WELCOME HIS EARLY RETURN, AND AS A CONSEQUENCE, HE HAS MADE TENTATIVE PLANS TO COME BACK FOR SEVEAL DAYS STARTING JANUARY 31. AT THAT TIME, IN ADDITION TO THE DINNER WITH GUTIERREZ MELLADO AND DE LA MATA, HE MAY ALSO SEE THE KING AND PRIME MINISTER SUAREZ, WHO HAS, HOWEVER, STRONG RESERVATION ABOUT THE UGT (MADRID 459) WHETHER OR NOT BROWN CAN BE OF HELP IN PRMOTING LIMITED MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FOR SPAIN'S FREE TRADE UNIONS, HIS INTEREST (AND THEREFORE, THAT OF THE AFL-CIO) PROMOTES QUITE USEFUL DIALOGUES WITH KEY PLAYERS IN THE LABOR REFORM AND DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS.

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OM BROWN TOLD ME OF THE AFL-CIO MODEST LABOR EDUCATION EFFORTS IN BARCELONA AND OF SIMILAR PLANS FOR THE BASQUE REGION (THORUGH THE BASQUE STV TRADE UNION). HE ALSO

MENTIONED THE POSSIBLE CREATION OF SOME TYPE OF FREE LABOR INSTITUTE (A LA AAFLI, AIFLD, AALC) WHICH COULD BE USED FOR LABOR PROJECTS IN CERTAINS EUROPEAN NATIONS (PORTUGAL SPAIN, GREECE, ETC.) IT WAS HOPED, BROWN CONTINUED THAT AS WITH THE OTHER INSTITUTES MATCHING AID FUNDS MIGHT BE MADE AVAILABLE (ON A FIVE TO ONE BASIS). I TOLD BROWN THAT I HAD SOME RESERVATIONS ABOUT USG FUNDS BEING USED FOR SUCH PROJECTS IN SPAIN. HE WILL UNDOUBTEDLY DISCUSS THE IDEA FURTHER IN WASHINGTON AND I SHOULD APPRECIATE BEING KEPT FULLY INFORMED.

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## Message Attributes

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Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009